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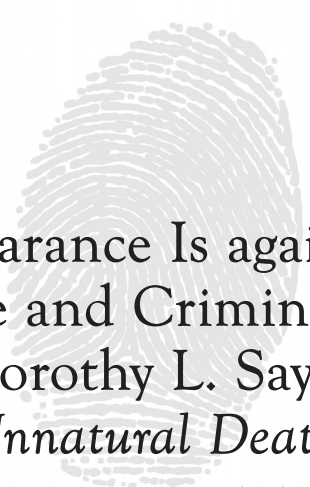
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“His Appearance Is against Him”: Race and Criminality in Dorothy L. Sayers’s *Unnatural Death*

Laura Vorachek

Abstract. This essay places Dorothy L. Sayers’s novel *Unnatural Death* (1927) in the context of heightened xenophobia and racism in interwar Britain, arguing that Sayers attempts to challenge prevalent cultural associations of blackness and criminality. Like Wilkie Collins, Sayers works to critique and undermine racist assumptions and to generate sympathy for the colonial Other.

Victoria Stewart argues that it is necessary to look at “contemporaneous narratives about, and ways of understanding, crime because detective fiction was not hermetically sealed from a broader, pervasive field of representations of criminality” (1–2). Considering nonfictional accounts of crime alongside fiction, she analyzes what crime writing about murder reveals about sociocultural attitudes toward marriage and gender issues. This essay extends Stewart’s argument to encompass other forms of criminality, including rioting and rape, to explore what contemporary narratives about these types of crimes expose about interwar attitudes to race. The antiblack racism of the interwar period is conspicuous in Dorothy L. Sayers’s 1927 novel *Unnatural Death*, yet critics and biographers are largely silent on this prejudice or, at most, make passing reference to “the easy racism of Sayers’ novels” (Heilbrun 236). Their reticence perhaps can be attributed to a tendency, following W. H. Auden’s 1948 essay “The Guilty Vicarage,” to read Golden Age detective fiction as situated in “a closed society” detached from larger social currents (149). However, reading *Unnatural Death* in the context of the heightened xenophobia and prejudice of the interwar years accentuates the novel’s critique of contemporary British attitudes that identified colonial Others with criminality. As Stewart notes, Golden Age authors recognized that

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their “readers could hardly avoid being exposed to other crime narratives that were in circulation”; indeed, real-life crimes often served as a reference point for authors (2). Therefore, the first part of this essay examines the climate of race relations after World War I, focusing in particular on reports of the 1919 riots and France’s deployment of black colonial troops to Germany in 1920, and argues that *Unnatural Death* engages with contemporary writing in newspapers and periodicals about these events. The novel attempts to counter associations of blackness with criminality that are found in many contemporary crime narratives by demonstrating how that assumption can be manipulated and by critiquing those who accept the correlation as fact.

In addition to contemporary crime narratives, other crime writing interwar readers might encounter include Victorian precursors to detective fiction. The second part of the essay considers the novel’s engagement with race in light of Sayers’s literary forefather Wilkie Collins. Sayers draws on Collins’s portrayal of Ezra Jennings in *The Moonstone* (1868) for her characterization of Hallelujah Dawson, a similar mixed-race colonial Other. Moreover, she borrows Collins’s strategies both for undermining the racist assumptions of certain characters and for generating sympathy for the colonial Other. By referring to *The Moonstone* as well as contemporary crime narratives in depicting a colonial Other, Sayers’s novel highlights the role of race in constructing criminality.

INTERWAR RACISM AND *UNNATURAL DEATH*

Unnatural Death follows Lord Peter Wimsey’s investigation into the death of the elderly, cancer-stricken Agatha Dawson. Agatha’s cousin Hallelujah Dawson, a West Indian minister who, like many of his real-life counterparts, moved to England for economic reasons, plays a crucial role in the mystery. The novel’s villain, Mary Whittaker, takes advantage of contemporaneous crime narratives to bring Hallelujah under suspicion of murder and kidnapping. In hopes of throwing the detectives off her trail, she plants a false clue that Vera Findlater’s murderer is black and that this same perpetrator has abducted her, thus casting herself as an innocent victim and Hallelujah as the criminal. Her attempted diversion is possible due to racial attitudes promoted by contemporary reports about the 1919 riots and black colonial troops deployed in Germany, both of which associated black men with sexual deviance and violence.

Prejudice against persons of color in England were exacerbated in the first decades of the twentieth century when Great Britain’s colonial Others came “home” in significant numbers. The wartime economy led to an increase in persons of color from Britain’s colonies working in factories and serving in the armed forces and merchant navy. As a result, the black population of Great Britain at this time numbered approximately 20,000 (compared to a total population of about 42.8 million) and was largely concentrated in port cities such as London, Liverpool, and Cardiff (Panayi 44; “The 1921 Census”). However, when the war ended, black factory workers, soldiers, and sailors joined demobilized white soldiers in unemployment lines. Housing shortages; competition for jobs; and union practices that favored white over black, Asian, and Arab employees led to racial tensions that flared in 1919 with riots in Glasgow, Liverpool, South Shields, Salford, Hull, Cardiff, Newport, Barry, and London. Between January and August, white mobs, sometimes numbering as many as 10,000, attacked black, Arab, and Chinese persons; their residences; and their businesses. Violence ranged from looting, destruction of property, and arson to beatings, stabbings, and shootings. Five were killed in the conflicts, four black men and one white.¹

Although historians point to the complex economic and social factors that fueled the riots, much contemporary reporting suggested that their cause was interracial sexual relationships. As Susan Kingsley Kent notes, this “theme . . . permeated accounts of and commentary about the riots” (49). For example, the *Times* of London’s report on an outbreak of violence in Liverpool in early June closed with the comment: “Many [West Indians] have married Liverpool women, and while it is admitted that some have made good husbands the intermarriage of black men and white women, not to mention other relationships, has excited much feeling (“Black and White” 9). Likewise, in a report on rioting in Cardiff a few days later, the *Times* conceded that “the more sober-minded citizens of Cardiff” do not think that “the coloured men” are solely “to blame for the disturbances, although, at the same time, they deplore the familiar association between white women and negroes, which is a provocative cause” (“Race Rioting” 9). Although allowing that a few black men may make good husbands and that they are not alone responsible for the riots, the *Times* is clear that black men’s sexual relationships are a provocation for white violence.

Other commentators were more direct about the link between the riots and miscegenation. Ralph Williams, former colonial administrator of Bechuanaland, in a 14 June letter to the *Times* arguing for the repatriation of “black and coloured men,” contends that “[i]t is an instinctive certainty that sexual relations between white women and coloured men revolt our very nature.” He finds it normal, then, that white men, “loathing” this situation, “resort to violence” (8). Stephen Black, in his anti-miscegenation screed “Black Men and White Women” (October 1919) concurred that “[i]t is perfectly obvious that sex relationship is at the bottom of the recent riots in Liverpool, Cardiff, and the East End of London” (352). Thus the economic anxieties that were the primary cause of the riots are superseded by sexual relationships that disrupt a perceived natural order.

White women also were viewed as culpable. The *Daily Herald* contended, “In all the places where trouble has arisen white women have in some measure been at the root of the disturbances” (“Race Riots” 4). Williams argued that no one was to blame for the riots except, perhaps, “white women of a certain temperament encouraging [black men’s] attentions, and allowing themselves to be taken as paramours, or sometimes as wives” (8). Similarly, Black opines that “it is generally a very low type of Englishwoman who will consort with the Negro” (353). By disparaging white women who dated or married black men as promiscuous and debased, these commentators distance themselves and other supposedly more refined whites from the cause of the violence. Thus, women who defy sexual social norms are at fault, not the racism or economy of postwar Britain.

The following year, interracial sex again became a lightning rod for broader social tensions. On 10 April 1920, the left-leaning *Daily Herald* printed an article on its front page with the bold headline “Black Scourge in Europe,” followed by the equally sensational subheads “Sexual Horror Let Loose by France on the Rhine” and “Disappearance of Young German Girls.” E. D. Morel, political radical and author of the article, alleged that French colonial troops deployed in occupied Germany were raping white women.² Morel prefaced his assertion by describing these troops as “primitive African barbarians” who “stuffed their haversacks with eye-balls, ears, and heads of the foe” during the war (1). Having established their cruel and uncivilized behavior, he claims, “They have become a terror and a horror unimaginable to the countryside, raping women and girls—for well-known physiological reasons, the rape of a white woman by a negro is nearly always accompanied by serious injury and not infrequently has fatal results” (1). Drawing on racist stereotypes of Africans as hypersexual, bloodthirsty savages, Morel attempted to inflame readers’ emotions

by portraying white women at the mercy of these rabid black men “spreading syphilis” and death at the behest of the French government (1). Morel argued that France’s use of colonial troops was part of a policy to degrade the German people after the war, but black men were the true villains of his narrative.

Unlike the lustful white women referred to in coverage of the 1919 riots, Morel describes German women as innocent victims. The sufferers of this “outrage upon womanhood” are “young girls returning from labour in the fields waylaid, and humble working women seized in the streets after dark” (1). Unlike “low” English women who “allow themselves to be taken as paramours,” “humble” German women are helpless victims. The different rhetoric employed to describe white women in these two situations demonstrates the way women’s sexuality is constructed. Women who choose to have sex with black men are wanton whores inciting violence; women who are assaulted symbolize the violation of German autonomy and racial integrity. In either case, black men are positioned as deviant, and white women are situated as the possessions of white men. As a result, interracial sex—real or imagined, consensual or nonconsensual—serves to justify white anger and violence.

Morel’s inflammatory article was followed by front-page reminders of his claims in the *Daily Herald* over the next two weeks,³ and, four months later, he published *The Horror on the Rhine*, a pamphlet elaborating on his allegations. It went through two editions of 5,000 copies each in 1920, and another eight editions were published by April 1921. The pamphlet was published in English, German, French, Dutch, and Italian, and free copies were distributed to delegates of the Trade Union Congress meeting in September 1920. Morel’s publications had the desired effect of sparking outrage in Britain and around the world. The National Conference of Labour Women, the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, the Independent Labour Party, and other women’s and trade union groups throughout Great Britain passed resolutions condemning the use of black soldiers in Germany. Labour MPs repeatedly raised the issue in Parliament in 1920 and 1921, and the issue was canvassed in periodicals such as *Labour Leader*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Contemporary Review*, *Commonweal*, *Nation*, and *Woman’s Leader*.⁴ The French government investigated Morel’s charges of rapes, abductions, forced brothels, and murder and found them baseless (Marks 320). But their rebuttals fell on deaf ears in the face of public outrage.

The sexual fear and resentment of colonial Others evident in responses to the 1919 riots and the deployment of black troops in Germany form the backdrop for *Unnatural Death*. Although there is no direct textual evidence that Mary is aware of these contemporary crime narratives, the false clue she leaves at the crime scene provokes a reaction that demonstrates the English public was quite familiar with the correlation of black men and sexual violence. In the cushions of Mary’s abandoned car, Wimsey finds a copy of *The Black Mask*, an American magazine that published hard-boiled detective stories, with “a thick pencil mark . . . drawn under the first two words of the title” (Sayers, *Unnatural* 233). In response to this supposed clue, Detective-Inspector Charles Parker (Wimsey’s brother-in-law) suggests that the suspect is “a nigger,” which causes the bumbling local Chief Constable Sir Charles Pillington to exclaim “horrificed, ‘an English girl in the hands of a nigger. How abominable!’” (Sayers, *Unnatural* 234). Sir Charles’s assumption that the threat posed by the black man to the white woman is sexual is shared by the general public. The narrator states, “The idea of two English girls—the one brutally killed, the other carried off for some end unthinkable sinister, by a black man—aroused all the passion of horror and indignation of which the English temperament is capable” (239). The “horror and indignation” of the English public suggests that the black man’s “unthinkably sinister” purpose is sexual. Sir

Charles's and the public's attitude is fully consonant with Morel's claims of atrocities committed by French colonial troops in Germany. The repeated "horror" felt in response to Hallelujah's supposed actions echoes the title of Morel's pamphlet. Moreover, public reaction to Vera's murder and Mary's supposed abduction is exacerbated by the press, reminiscent not only of the coverage of black troops in Germany but also the 1919 riots: "The *Yell* came out with . . . a patriotic leader about the danger of encouraging coloured aliens" (248). Like commentator Ralph Williams who called for repatriation of black immigrants in response to the 1919 riots, the fictional news coverage places responsibility for criminality onto people of color despite the fact that, in both cases, whites instigated the violence. The public and the media are depicted as all too ready to believe a black man is a criminal threat.

The anxieties about people of color voiced in coverage of the 1919 riots and Morel's pamphlet are reflected in characters' reactions to Hallelujah even before Mary frames him. Agatha's former housekeeper, Miss Timmins, refers to Hallelujah as "a nasty, dirty nigger" and a "horrible blackamoor rolling his dreadful eyes" (123), language that implies sexual deviance and violence. Not surprisingly, Miss Timmins is introduced to the reader as "a most disagreeable censorious woman" (122). But the tendency to link dark skin with criminality is found even in the novel's less objectionable characters. For example, Miss Climpson's sympathy for Hallelujah is compromised by her comment that "after all, even *blacks* are *God's creatures* and we might *all* be *black OURSELVES* if He had not in His infinite kindness seen fit to *favour us* with *white skins*!!" (123; emphasis in original). Implicit in her statement is that black skin is a detriment. Moreover, not knowing the kidnapping story to be false, she imagines the mysterious man she sees in South Audley Street (ironically Wimsey posing as Templeton) to be "an associate and employee of debauched and brutal black assassins" (260). Her description of the assailants suggests she accepts the association of black men with sex and violence circulating in contemporary crime narratives.

However, Miss Climpson can be read as a comic character. The humor generated by this character begins in the third chapter when Parker and the reader are led to believe that Wimsey is about to introduce his mistress. Instead, the reader meets a conservatively-attired, middle-aged woman whose "iron-grey hair was dressed under a net, in the style fashionable in the reign of the late King Edward" (27). Her hairstyle marks her as out of date, as does her upbringing. A middle-aged woman in 1927, she grew up in the last decades of the Victorian era with a "very old fashioned" father who did not believe in educating girls (27). Wimsey's supposed paramour is a relic of another generation. The joke is extended in the next chapter with Miss Climpson's letter to Wimsey, in which she writes, "You will *excuse* the mention of *underwear*, which is, I fear, a *somewhat large* item!" (32; emphasis in original). Although the reference to a provocative item of clothing would not be out of place in a letter from a mistress, it is incongruous in one from an older spinster. Moreover, the salacious nature of underclothing is contrasted with its material—wool—and the double meaning of "somewhat large item." Miss Climpson intends to convey that underwear constituted a considerable expense, but her statement also could be understood as meaning the underwear was of a generous size. Thus, the text pokes fun at the character by highlighting the absurdity of Miss Climpson as someone's lover given her age, outmodedness, and perhaps sizable derrière. As such, her assumptions about race and criminality might be viewed as old-fashioned as her hairdo and as silly as the style and content of her letters.

Fears of black men are further undermined by the novel's depiction of Hallelujah as

mild-mannered and deferential. Indeed, he fits the stereotype of the humble and devoted colonial servant. Eager to help, Hallelujah provides Wimsey with a key to the motive for the murder of Agatha—the Dawson family tree. Furthermore, Hallelujah appears to have internalized his colonial oppressors' view of racial miscegenation. For example, a "deep dusky flush showed under his dark skin" when he acknowledges that he is the grandson of a white man, revealing embarrassment about his mixed-race ancestry (149). In a similar vein, he tells Wimsey that he only visited Agatha once, because "I would not intrude upon her. It could not be agreeable to her to have a relative of my complexion continually at her house" (150). He makes this statement with "a kind of proud humility," accepting society's racism and his subordinate position without resentment (150). The gap between the violent and sexually rapacious black man imagined by the general public and the actual character of Hallelujah is so wide that the ability of prejudice to inflame and distort personal and public opinion is brought to the fore. Hallelujah's arrest for murder and conspiracy generates compassion for the "innocent, decent old creature, who couldn't harm a fly" (242). Thus, the text draws on one racist stereotype, the benign man of color who knows his place, to counter another, the black man as criminal.

Hallelujah may be a sympathetic victim of racist crime reports, but this figure's effectiveness in countering these narratives is limited. Mary's arrest clears him of suspicion of murder and kidnapping, exculpating one black man from the popular association of criminality with race. But the text offers little hope that the police and the English public will not again jump to the conclusion that white women are in sexual peril from black men. Moreover, Hallelujah arguably has a stronger claim to Agatha's fortune than the cousin who is introduced in the final pages of the novel, but he is never recognized as a legitimate member of the Dawson family. His outsider status—to the Dawson family and perhaps to Britain—is not questioned. However, Hallelujah is permitted to keep the £10,000 sent to him by Mary to frame him for the murder of Vera, so he does receive financial compensation for his trouble. This payout can be understood as a measure of justice for the abuses faced by colonial Others due to crime narratives that cast black men as sexual predators.

HALLELUJAH DAWSON'S PRECURSOR: EZRA JENNINGS

Hallelujah Dawson can be regarded as the literary descendant of another colonial Other: Ezra Jennings of *The Moonstone*. In her 1928 introduction to *Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery and Horror*, Sayers called *The Moonstone* "the very finest detective story ever written" and its author, Wilkie Collins, "a master craftsman, whom many modern mystery-mongers might imitate to their profit" (25, 27).⁵ Sayers appears to have taken her own advice the previous year, drawing on Collins's portrayal of Ezra for her depiction of Hallelujah in *Unnatural Death*. Therefore, Sayers's response to contemporary crime narratives associating persons of color with criminality was likely influenced by Britain's literary and colonial past as well as her present.

Although the plots of the two novels vary significantly, one focusing on murder and the other on the theft of valuable Indian diamond, the parallels between Hallelujah and Ezra are instructive. Both characters are mixed-race colonial immigrants to England. As Ezra tells Franklin Blake, "I was born, and partly brought up, in one of our colonies. My father was an Englishman; but my mother—" (Collins 371). Ezra never reveals his mother's nationality, but it seems likely from his "gipsy-complexion" and Eastern features that she was a native of one of those colonies (369). Indeed, Collins draws on Western stereotypes

of Indians for his depiction of Ezra. He takes opium to cope with the debilitating pain of an “incurable internal complaint” (380) and describes himself as effeminate when relating his “hysterical” reaction to nursing Dr. Candy back to life. He tells Blake, “Physiology says, and says truly, that some men are born with female constitutions—and I am one of them!” (373). His diseased body and emotional weakness are racial stereotypes of Indians that, along with his dark complexion and Eastern nose, mark him as Other.

Like Hallelujah, Ezra faces prejudice from the white community in England. As Gabriel Betteredge tells Blake, “Nobody likes him,” because “his appearance is against him” (327). Proof of Betteredge’s assessment is provided by Mr. Bruff’s and Mrs. Merridew’s responses to meeting Ezra for the first time. Ezra notes, “My personal appearance (as usual) told against me. Mr. Bruff’s distrust looked at me plainly enough out of Mr. Bruff’s eyes” (414). Mrs. Merridew, for her part, “uttered a faint little scream at the first sight of my gipsy complexion and my piebald hair” (416) and cannot bring herself to look directly at him again. These reactions may be attributed to crime narratives about Indian men circulating in the 1860s. Scholars have long read *The Moonstone* as a response to the Indian Rebellion of 1857 and the reports that reached England of mutiny and the rape and mutilation of women committed by Indian soldiers.⁶ Thus, the suspicion and fear sparked by Ezra’s visage in a representative of the legal system and a white woman suggest they associate his race with subversion of authority and sexual violence. As previously seen, Sayers likewise engages with contemporary crime narratives that link criminality to racial Others.

One way *Unnatural Death* challenges racist assumptions like these is by putting them in the mouth of a humorous character, a strategy Sayers may have drawn from Collins. Sayers’s narrator explicitly links Miss Climpson to Gabriel Betteredge, also a comic figure, when remarking that Miss Climpson struggles with “what Wilkie Collins calls ‘detective fever,’” the malady from which Betteredge suffers in *The Moonstone* (*Unnatural* 258). As he tells the reader, “If there is such a thing known at the doctor’s shop as a *detective-fever*, that disease had now got fast hold of your humble servant” (131; emphasis in original). Betteredge admits to having “English ideas” (84) about the three Indians who have traveled to Yorkshire in the hopes of retrieving the stolen diamond, and he reveals his cultural biases when referring to them as “heathenish” and “snaky” “rogues” (60, 82). However, he disclaims his racism, stating that, “I am . . . the last person in the world to distrust another person because he happens to be a few shades darker than myself,” adding the caveat that “my weakness, when I know a family plate-basket to be out on a pantry table, is to be instantly reminded of that basket by the sight of a strolling stranger” (30). Betteredge has already demonstrated to readers an amusing lack of self-awareness by proclaiming that he is not superstitious in the same breath that he extols the prophetic value of his favorite novel, *Robinson Crusoe*. Here, he reveals a bias that causes him to suspect that that dark-skinned strangers must be thieves. Betteredge’s unconscious racism is an example of his comic lack of discernment. After all, one of his rules is “never to notice what I don’t understand” (54).

Furthermore, Betteredge’s prejudices are contrasted with the more cosmopolitan perspective of Blake. Blake has traveled widely and been educated abroad, receiving “foreign training” that Betteredge believes has resulted in Blake’s “French side, and his German side, and his Italian side” (55, 56). Blake has assimilated aspects of those Continental cultures and is not limited to “English ideas” like Betteredge. Perhaps as a result, Blake is able to look past Ezra’s appearance and take an interest in him. He tells the reader, “Ezra Jennings made some inscrutable appeal to my sympathies, which I found it impossible to resist” (369). Set against the truly open response of this educated, worldly man, Betteredge’s

xenophobic reaction to the three Indians and Ezra is depicted as narrow and insular. Thus, Betteredge's assumptions about the criminality of persons of color, like Miss Climpson's, are portrayed as uneducated and out of step with the modern world.

Blake's interest in Ezra is just one of the ways Collins creates empathy for the character. Ezra contributes his own narrative to the novel, giving him a voice and providing him with a subjectivity often withheld from racial Others in literature of the period. As Albert D. Pionke and Vicki Corkran Willey have noted, Collins creates affinity for Ezra by endowing him with qualities, including honor and integrity "highly prized by the novel's English characters" (Pionke 129). Ezra also wins sympathy by clearing Blake of suspicion of stealing the Moonstone, thereby disassociating a white man from criminality. The success of his experiment sways the characters who initially disliked him. Blake summarizes, "after vanquishing Betteredge and Mr. Bruff, Ezra Jennings vanquished Mrs. Merridew herself. There is a great deal of undeveloped liberal feeling in the world, after all!" (431–32). By proving that Blake took the diamond under the influence of opium, Ezra conquers their initial prejudice against a mixed-race outsider. As Lillian Nayder has pointed out, the experiment also positions Jennings as a helpful colonial servant to Blake (122–23). As previously seen, Sayers similarly creates sympathy for Hallelujah through his desire to assist imperialists in solving their problems. Ezra aligns with his colonial oppressors by identifying British colonies as "our[s]" (Nayder 122), and Hallelujah adopts hegemonic views of racial miscegenation as shameful. Thus, sympathy in both novels is predicated, in part, on the good behavior of the colonial Other.

Although "liberal feeling" has been generated in the hearts of a few, Ezra is not able to provide an effective counter narrative to contemporary crime writing about Indian men. He cannot dissociate himself from criminality as easily as Blake or even Hallelujah. As he tells Blake, "I am incapable, perfectly incapable, of proving my innocence. I can only assert my innocence" (379). False accusations of an unnamed crime have deprived him of his character, his profession, and the woman he loved, and this injustice remains unresolved at the end of *The Moonstone*. Collins's novel may challenge the affiliation of race and criminality by presenting readers with the sympathetic Ezra, but it sidesteps the issue by erasing him from the text. Ezra dies and is buried in an unmarked grave, and the novel's attention returns to the romance plot within a white, wealthy English family.

In responding to post–World War I racial controversies, Sayers's novel belies Auden's claim that detective fiction requires a closed society. As *Unnatural Death* demonstrates through the fears and anxieties raised by a colonial Other, the English country village is open to race-based ideologies from beyond its borders. The country village is not a self-contained community and, due to Britain's history of imperialism, has not been for a long time. Sayers's borrowing from *The Moonstone*, whose plot similarly relies on the fact that English communities are not isolated from the rest of the world, reinforces this view. Thus, *Unnatural Death* looks to the literary past in an attempt to disrupt the correlation of dark skin and criminality prevalent in interwar crime narratives.

Keywords: *The Moonstone*; racism; Sayers, Dorothy L.: *Unnatural Death*; xenophobia

NOTES

1. Jenkinson explores the various factors that led to the riots as well as the response of police, courts, and the government in *Black 1919*, the most thorough analysis of the riots. See also Walvin (206–09), May and Cohen, Rowe, Fryer (299–310), and Kent (45–55) for discussion of the riots' causes.

2. Morel, secretary and cofounder of the Union of Democratic Control and editor of the organization's journal *Foreign Affairs*, had a history of progressive action, founding the Congo Reform Association in 1904 and later becoming a Labour MP (see Reinders 2; Fryer 316).
3. Kent 56. See, for example, "Black Peril on the Rhine" and "Brutes in French Uniform."
4. See Reinders for a detailed discussion of the response to Morel's article and pamphlet in Great Britain and internationally.
5. Sayers's affinity for the Victorian sensation fiction writer Wilkie Collins is well documented. See, for example, Leahy, Gregory, Kenney, Schaub, and Stewart.
6. See, for example, Reed, Nayder, Mehta, Milligan, Pionke, Carens, and Willey. Sharpe analyzes the sensationalist reports of rape and torture during the 1857 uprisings in "The Unspeakable Limits of Rape." As with the supposed atrocities committed by French colonial soldiers in Germany, there is no historical basis for these crime narratives (Sharpe 227).

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